

**Before the Federal Election Commission**

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Project Veritas Action Fund  
1214 E Boston Post Rd.  
Mamaroneck, NY 10543

James O'Keefe III  
1214 E Boston Post Rd.  
Mamaroneck, NY 10543

AUR # 7157

v.

Hillary for America,  
Jose H. Villareal, Treasurer  
P.O. Box 5256  
New York, NY 10185-5256

Democratic National Committee  
430 S. Capitol St. SE  
Washington, DC 20003

Democracy Partners  
1250 Eye St. NW #250  
Washington, DC 20005

Scott Foval  
d/b/a The Foval Group

Sun Prairie, WI 53590

Priorities USA Action  
1101 15th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Alliance for Retired Americans  
815 16th St. NW, Fourth Floor  
Washington, DC 20006

Americans United for Change  
P.O. Box 34606  
Washington, DC 20043

Complaint

2016 OCT 20 AM 11:13

1. This complaint is filed pursuant to 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(1) and is based on information providing reason to believe that Priorities USA Action ("Priorities"), Alliance for Retired Americans ("AFRA"), Americans United for Change ("AUFC") have made, and the Hillary for America ("HFA") presidential campaign committee and Democratic National Committee ("DNC") have accepted prohibited and excessive contributions in the form of coordinated expenditures in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA") and FEC regulations. It also involves the actions of Democracy Partners and Scott Foval,<sup>1</sup> doing business as The Foval Group, acting as willing accomplices to circumvent federal election law.
2. Journalists with Project Veritas Action Fund ("PVA") have uncovered a criminal conspiracy where, in the words of Scott Foval, "The way that works is: The [HFA] campaign pays DNC, DNC pays Democracy Partners, Democracy Partners pays The Foval Group, The Foval Group goes and executes . . . on the ground."<sup>2</sup> This has been done in a manner to evade federal election law and violating coordinated expenditure rules.
3. Actions taken to transform independent speech into coordinated expenditures with candidates or political parties are treated as contributions and thus subject to source and

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<sup>1</sup> After airing its investigative report, Americans United for Change announced the termination of Foval as staff with the group. See *HEADS ROLL: Democratic Operative FIRED After O'Keefe Video Exposé*, THE SEAN HANNITY SHOW, Oct. 18, 2016, <http://www.hannity.com/articles/election-493995/heads-roll-democratic-operative-fired-after-15212754/>.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rigging the Election – Video 1: Clinton Campaign and DNC Incite Violence at Trump Rallies*, PROJECT VERITAS ACTION, Oct. 17, 2016, <http://www.projectveritasaction.com/video/rigging-election-video-i-clinton-campaign-and-dnc-incite-violence-trump-rallies>. PVA has created a transcript of the conversations and circumstances surrounding each quote attached as EXHIBIT A.

amount limits as provided in the FECA. *See, e.g.*, 52 U.S.C. §§ 30118(a), (b)(2); 11 CFR 109.22.

4. This criminal conspiracy involves the knowing and willful creation of coordinated expenditures from prohibited corporate sources. As is detailed numerous times in the Veritas transcript, attached as EXHIBIT A, the supposedly independent speech and actions of third-party groups were directed, controlled, or puppeteered by HFA or the DNC. Indeed, the record establishes not just simple violations of the FECA's coordination provisions, but ongoing knowing and willful evasion of federal election law requirements through a complicated scheme. Because this conspiracy involves large numbers of employees, heightened travel, production, and distribution costs and because of the nationwide scale of the operation, upon information and belief, this triggers criminal penalties under 52 U.S.C. § 30109(d)(1)(A)(i).
5. By failing to abide by the law, these respondents misled the public about the true identity of speakers and funding sources for political protests and advocacy campaigns. This sort of evasion undermines the public's trust in the electoral process and allows elite political operatives to operate above the law.

#### **Facts**

6. On April 13, 2015, Hillary Clinton filed with the Commission Form 2, Statement of Candidacy, establishing her as a federal candidate seeking the office of president in the 2016 election. She designated "Hillary for America" as her principal campaign committee.
7. Democratic National Committee is an unincorporated organization and serves as the governing body of the Democratic Party of the United States. It is registered as a national committee with the FEC. 2 U.S.C. § 431(14).

8. Democracy Partners is a self-described "strategic consulting group" with offices nationwide. It is registered as a limited liability company ("LLC") in Washington, DC.
9. The Foval Group appears to be Scott Foval doing business as the Foval Group.
10. Priorities USA Action is registered as an independent-expenditure-only committee, or "Super PAC," with the Commission. It is headquartered in Washington, DC.
11. Americans United for Change is non-profit corporation organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the IRS Code.
12. Alliance for Retired Americans is non-profit corporation organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the IRS Code.
13. For six months, PVA conducted an undercover investigation into the inner-workings of national politics. While attending rallies, political gatherings, and other events, PVA agents began to learn that the supposedly spontaneous and independent protests occurring at Donald Trump events nationwide were controlled and directed by Democratic Party operatives. This led PVA to investigate the matter further by planting PVA agents in various political organizations to learn about the chain of command. This included learning about the use of homeless and mentally ill people to disrupt or cause problems at political events. It also included the use of shared political messaging, approved by the DNC or HFA, by third-party groups.
14. To prevent against allegedly independent groups from acting as mere conduits of candidates or political parties, federal election law imposes anti-coordination requirements. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B)(C). These involve three prongs that must be satisfied in order that certain speech or activities be deemed truly independent. 11 CFR 109.37.

15. Under the FECA, a communication is considered coordinated when: (1) the communication is paid for, in whole or in part, by someone else other than a candidate, committee, or political party committee; (2) the communication satisfies one of the content standards in 11 CFR 109.37(a)(2), (3); and (3) the communication satisfies one of the conduct standards set forth in 11 CFR 109.21(d).

**Evidence of Activities Violating the Conduct Prong**

16. One of the most important prongs of the FEC's coordination standard involves conduct. The conduct prong examines interactions between people paying for a communication and the candidate, campaign or political party committee. Specifically problematic are interactions where a "communication is created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion" of the candidate or campaign or political party committee. 11 CFR 109.21(d). Additionally, where a candidate or campaign or political party committee is materially involved with decisions about content, intended audiences, means or mode of communication, or specific media outlet used, the conduct prong will be satisfied. 11 CFR 109.21(d)(2). In instances where substantial discussion has occurred between a campaign and third-party groups about plans, projects, or activities relevant to the creation or distribution of a communication, the conduct prong will be met. 11 CFR 109.21(d)(3). Lastly, where common vendors or former employees or independent contractors share specific information in given timeframes, the conduct prong may be established. 11 CFR 109.21(d)(4), (5).
17. In the PVA report, several condemning statements by political operatives indicate that HFA was materially involved with the political messaging of third-party groups and indeed, even directed it at times. Evidence of such wrongdoing is found below.

- 1
- a. On 09/23/16 Scott Foval of AUFC: "So you'll get [the budget proposal] when you get back then. Because I don't think I can get it and cleared with Bob before-" PVA Journalist: "And you also have to clear it with the DNC, or that's afterwards?" Scott Foval: "The messaging is what we have to clear. We already made the call over to Brooklyn to get the clearance from the campaign, because they want to do it anyway."<sup>3</sup> PVA Journalist: "For when he asks, the aggressive birdogging is the stuff inside with the phones." Scott Foval: "So fundraiser insertion, and the duck call thing is kind of an integrated thing with the same team of people, with a group of I.E. [Independent Expenditure] folks bolted on." Exh. A. at 4.<sup>4</sup>
- b. On 09/15/16 Scott Foval of AUFC: "[W]hat we don't need is for it to show up on CNN that the DNC paid for 'x' people to...that's not gonna happen. We need to keep it, you know, I hate to use the Beyonce term, 'partition,' but we need to keep the partition." *Id.* at 1.
- c. On 9/23/16, Scott Foval of AUFC: "So the operation is to insert and get the doc message in there if we can or the extremist message depending on - we have to clear this with the DNC." PVA Reporter: [Inaudible]. Scott Foval: "With

<sup>3</sup> See EXHIBIT C, e-mail from Scott Foval to Steve Packard detailing how AUFC, Voces De La Frontera Action, and Democracy Partners would stage protests and carry out media campaigns that would be developed to help demonstrate "why they should vote against these candidates." This third-party activity designed to "vote against these candidates" had to be cleared by the HFA or DNC committees. See EXHIBIT A at 4.

<sup>4</sup> See EXHIBIT D, August 26, 2016 e-mail from Robert Creamer to Charles Roth, cc: to Caroline Ciccone and Brad Woodhouse, and related attachments (Americans United for Change Fall 2016 Plan, Voces De La Frontera Action's Lation's in the Badger State, Voces Action Budget Excel sheet). This exhibit illustrates AUFC's promotion of its "rapid response" program to "hold Republicans accountable" and Voces' promotion and budget for similar programs. These are all shared by carbon copy with Brad Woodhouse of Correct the Record, a Super PAC. As detailed in EXHIBIT A, these are approved or cleared by Hillary for America or the DNC. See EXHIBIT A at 4, 9.

Democratic National Committee, we have to clear which methods we're going to be targeting at each event but they can insert into multiple events now through the end of the election on a continual - on a daily basis but basically do a chase all the way across the country." *Id.* at 9.

- d. On 09/15/16 "Scott Foval of AUFC: We talk about lots of things that we don't talk about." *Id.* at 2.
- e. On 09/15/16 "PVA Journalist: Do they know -- I mean, Bob Creamer is--" Scott Foval: "Between Bob, myself, Aaron Black, Brad Woodhouse, a few other people in town, everybody hears about everything, were basically on the same group of conference calls...." *Id.* at 3.
- f. Scott Foval on 09/23/16 describing his shared roles as staff or contractor for political committees and non-profits: "I am contracted to [Bob Creamer] but I answer to the head of Special Events for the DNC and the head of special events and political for the campaign." *Id.* at 8. "I came on to AUFC in the beginning of August, but I've been with Democracy since the beginning of June before I even left PFAW." *Id.* at 5.

18. In many instances, every plan to have third-party groups launch protests at political events, incite political violence, or engage in plain electoral advocacy had to be approved by HFA or the DNC or follow messaging provided by HFA or the DNC. Democracy Partners and the Foval Group were used as intermediaries to circumvent federal election law requirements to do so. This activity clearly satisfies the conduct prong.

19. Many factors, each independently conclusive, considered by the Commission in determining whether the conduct prong is satisfied are met here. Here, Scott Foval

expressly notes that Democracy Partners, the Foval Group, AUFC, Priorities USA, and AFRA deploy communications that are created, produced, or distributed at the request, suggestion or assent of HFA and DNC. For example, before AUFC and others engaged in "aggressive birddogging," they sought the permission of HFA.<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 4. If that were not enough, HFA and the DNC appear to be materially involved in decisions about content, means, and mode of communication. The transcript includes, for example, evidence that the DNC had to pre-approve contemplated "extremist message[s]." *Id.* at 9. It also appears that there has been substantial discussion between the AUFC, Priorities USA, AFRA, Democracy Partners, and the Foval Group with HFA and the DNC. Indeed, the included transcript nicely illustrates nearly such conduct. The record further suggests the possibility that AUFC, AFRA, Democracy Partners, and the Foval Group used common vendors with the HFA and DNC.

#### **Evidence of Activities Violating the Content Prong**

20. A communication or activity may satisfy the content prong if it, among other things: (a) is a public communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate; or (b) is made within 90 (congressional) or 120 (presidential) days of an election and refers to House, Senate, or Presidential candidates and is distributed within that candidate's jurisdiction. 11 CFR 109.21(c)(4).
21. Activities and speech violating the content prong follow below.

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<sup>5</sup> Further reporting by Wikileaks confirms the HFA's knowledge and encouragement of "bird dogging" as a vital component of its electoral advocacy strategy. See July 4, 2015 e-mail from re47@hillaryclinton.com to xhinojosa@hillaryclinton.com through WikiLeaks at: <https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/3833>.



a. "Donald Ducks His Taxes."<sup>6</sup> PVA discovered the transfer of a mock "Donald Duck" character originally used by the DNC to spread a message that "Donald Ducks his taxes." The investigation demonstrated tension between the Walt Disney Company and the DNC over its usage, which led the DNC to transfer that advertising slogan and project to the AUFC. Since "Donald Ducks his taxes" is a reference to a presidential candidate running for office within 120 days of an election, it satisfies the content prong.<sup>7</sup>

- i. On 09/23/16 Scott Foval of AUFC: “The whole duck thing? That came about, the reason we moved it from DNC to AUFC was just to do a hopscotch but the actually idea passed way back in May.” Exh. A at 5.
- ii. Scott Foval on 09/23/16 suggests that a “giant floating duck on the river [will pass] Trump Tower in Chicago. A giant floating duck the Hudson when [Donald Trump is] there. A giant duck on a flatbed outside his hotel in DC when he’s there.” *Id.* at 4. Further, Foval plans a “Trump duck message, and then we’re going into the events, everyone has their phone, we insert like twenty people, twenty to thirty into the events, where they all have their phones set to go off on the exact same time, on an alarm, with the duck call, on the inside of the events all at once...” *Id.* at 5–6.

<sup>6</sup> At some point during the summer of 2016, the DNC began using a “Donald Duck” figure to convey a negative message about Donald Trump and to vote against him. See Jacob Gersham, *DNC’s Anti-Trump Mascot ‘Donald Ducks’ May Run Afoul of Trademark Protections*, WALL ST. J., Aug. 18, 2016, available at <http://blogs.wsj.com/law/2016/08/18/anti-trump-mascot-donald-ducks-may-run-afoul-of-trademark-protections/?mod=WSJBlog&cb=logged0.8400450810856372>

<sup>7</sup> See EXHIBIT B, detailing the use of “Donald Ducks his Taxes” during the 2016 electoral cycle.

b. Outside Group Shared Messaging. It became apparent in the course of the investigation that numerous third-party groups participated in weekly calls to determine shared electoral strategy between HFA, DNC, and outside groups. This included discussions about how to shape content and messaging to benefit the HFA and DNC. Because third-party groups engaged in the production of public communications that referenced candidates for presidential office, these satisfy the content prong.

- i. The transcript includes multiple references to deploying individuals in Trump fundraisers and rallies to disrupt them. Also, Scott Foval notes that the group needs to get DNC approval to insert "extremist message." *Id.* at 9.<sup>8</sup>
- ii. Based on information and belief, many of the staged, artificial protests occurring at Trump rallies nationwide included individuals with signs reading, in part "#DumpTrump" or "No Hate, No Racism, No Trump" or simply "Nope" with an unflattering picture of Donald Trump.
- iii. On 09/15/16 Scott Foval: "[W]ith AUFC, we can do other things. All I have to do is call Bob, call Brad..." PVA Journalist: "Things like North Carolina." Scott Foval: "Things like North Carolina. Umm...when we go to things like the state fair. I don't know if you saw the 'Make misogyny great again' signs around...we've been doing this duck all over the place..." *Id.* at 1.

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<sup>8</sup> See also EXHIBIT D, detailing outside group involvement and coordination these efforts through Robert Creamer and Democracy Partners' assistance.

iv. On 09/23/16 Scott Foval: "We have a clip deliverable that we have to deliver every day for our group of clients who are involved in this project, AUSC, A4C which is Alliance For Change, Alliance for Retired Americans which is part of AFL-CIO. They are one of our partners on the AUFC stuff for Social Security. It depends on the issue. And then there's the DNC and the campaigns and Priorities (Hillary's super pac). Priorities are a big part of this too." *Id.* at 7.

v. The investigated subjects spoke of the benefit of "private firms" as a means to direct funding and communication messaging to non-profits and outside groups. The "private firms, we can do whatever we want, we don't have to disclose it."<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 9. After discussing payment options, funding AUFC is agreed upon. "I'll write a donation directly to AUFC." *Id.*

22. Because third-party groups acted in tandem with HFA and the DNC through Democracy Partners and the Foval Group and created public communications featuring candidates for public office, these satisfy the content prong. The record demonstrates that the DNC transferred its possession of the "Donald Ducks" communications project to the AUFC, which includes a clear reference to Donald Trump within 120 days of the presidential election. Additional evidence shows that the Foval Group, working in tandem with the DNC and HFA, provided communication clips to third-party groups to use on a daily basis

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<sup>9</sup> This sentence amounts to the fatal conceit of the private firm operatives. Under the FECA, while private firms may enjoy less demanding disclosure requirements, they are still prohibited from conspiring with others to violate anti-coordination provisions. Under 18 U.S.C. § 2, whoever aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces, or procures the commission of an offense against the United States is punishable as a principal.

as well as provided for the training and creation of "conflict engagement" at Donald Trump events.

**Evidence of Activities Violating the Payment Prong**

23. To satisfy the payment prong, communications or activities in question must be paid for, in whole or in part, by someone other than a candidate, the candidate's authorized committee, or a political party committee.
24. The FECA makes clear that compensation paid to a person to render services to a campaign is an in-kind contribution. Indeed, "compensation for personal services" has been defined to include the "payment by any person of compensation for personal services of another person if those services are rendered without charge to a political committee for any purpose." 11 CFR 100.54. This has been interpreted broadly by the FEC such that legal services donated for an amicus brief constituted a contribution and employers paying workers to renovate a candidate's campaign headquarters constituted contributions as well. *See, e.g.*, Advisory Opinion ("AO") 2006-22 (Jenkins & Gilchrist); AO 1982-04 (Apodaca). To date, the FEC has signaled approval for investigations of potentially unlawful contributions where compensated services were provided on behalf of a campaign or where "other indicia of concerted activity" existed. MUR 6021 (DNC & Kerry for President 2004), First General Counsel's Report at 10.
25. Where third party groups have disbursed funds for office space, web hosting, producing advertisements, media training and outreach, and travel expenses related to presidential elections, these constitute coordinated expenditures under the law. 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 CFR 109.20. Moreover, contributions can occur where personal services are rendered to a political committee without any charge, or with a discounted

rate. 52 U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)(ii); 11 CFR 100.54. These services are considered in-kind contributions if they were conducted at the request or suggestion of a candidate or committee. MUR 6021 (DNC & Kerry for President 2004), First General Counsel's Report at 10.

26. Activities violating the payment prong include the following.

- a. Scott Foval of AUFC on 09/15/16 "So, I'll give an example. In Iowa. Progress Iowa has a built-in group of people that they can message, who will show up. But what they will not do, is do that unless someone is paying them on the project. Because there's staff time involved, there's transportation involved, there's food, lodging training, whatever, involved. We have these organizations around the country who are allies, who are on the I.E. side, who are on the labor side, but we also have them on our side where we can buy that list and say, 'Hey, if you want spend the next two months leading up the election, making things difficult for Donald Trump...I'd say demographically, getting vets do things is very easy, A) because they need the money, B) they're fearless." Exh. A at 3.
- b. Potentially illegal activities including paying people to move to Wisconsin to vote. Scott Foval: "So, so paying people to relocate to the state of Wisconsin in order to vote, we're literally just running out of time for them to, you know, register to vote." PVA Reporter: "Right." Scott Foval: "And it's a same-day registration." PVA Reporter: "That's..." PVA Reporter: "That's what may be illegal." *Id.* at 11.
- c. Scott Foval of AUFC: "So we will deliver a framed budget. That will have these two things built on, so Voces Field, which is 14K, and Voces Media, which is pending, right now it's at a minimum of five and up to twenty depending on what

we can get funded. These two exist under the Foval Group, okay? These exist under Democracy Partners/AUFC. And so the idea is to fold this stuff into what he's already done. And I really would like to get his help on this, I'm not asking him to fund the whole thing. But if he put 5K towards it I can get the other money." *Id.* at 12.<sup>10</sup>

- d. After discussing options for payment to Democracy Partners or the Foval Group, payment to the 501(c)(4) AUFC is agreed upon. *Id.* at 9.

27. The arrangement of the payment of outside, third-party group electoral messaging, protests, and related activity satisfies the payment prong.

#### **LEGAL VIOLATIONS**

28. Based on the foregoing,

- a. Democracy Partners, Scott Foval or the Foval Group, AUFC, Priorities USA, and the AFRA made illegal in-kind contributions to the HFA and DNC in the form of coordinated expenditures. The coordinated expenditures at issue here include planning staged protests, disruptions, and creating and distributing shared political messaging about the 2016 election. Expenditures made in coordination with a candidate or party committee are in-kind contributions. 52 § U.S.C. 30116(a)(7)(B)(i), 11 CFR 109.20. Contributions from unions and corporations in connection with any election to political office are strictly forbidden under federal election law. 11 CFR 114.2(a).
- b. Democracy Partners, Scott Foval or the Foval Group, AUFC, Priorities USA, and the AFRA made prohibited in-kind contributions to the HFA and DNC in the form

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<sup>10</sup> See Exh. C.

of compensation for the personal services of staff members. Compensation paid by any of the respondents for sending individuals to protest or engage in electoral messaging would be considered contributions to HFA or the DNC provided they were undertaken at the request or suggestion or in coordination with a candidate or party committee. 52 § U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)(ii); *see also* 11 CFR 100.54.

- c. HFA and the DNC have failed to report contributions in the form of coordinated expenditures by Priorities USA. The FECA requires candidates and parties to report and disclose contributions, including in-kind contributions, received from political committees. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b). Based on the record established above, Priorities USA's participation in coordinated expenditures would require HFA and the DNC to report these contributions, yet they failed to do so. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(D), (b)(3)(B).

29. The Commission should find reason to believe that Hillary for America and other named respondents have violated 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.* and conduct an immediate investigation under 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2). Because of the weighty public interests at stake here, it should do so within 120 days of the filing of this complaint. 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(8)(A). The complainants request that the FEC impose sanctions appropriate to these violations and take further action as may be appropriate, including referring this matter to the Department of Justice for a criminal investigation.



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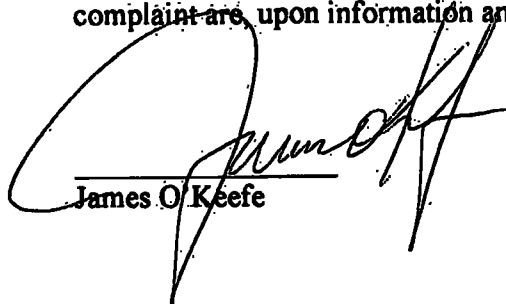
Benjamin Barr  
Counsel  
Project Veritas Action Fund

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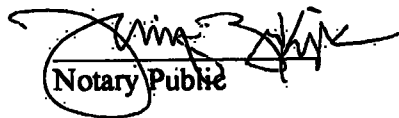


**VERIFICATION**

Project Veritas Action Fund and James O'Keefe verify that the statements made in this complaint are, upon information and belief, true. Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

  
James O'Keefe

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 10th day of October, 2016.

  
Notary Public

Jennifer Zern  
Notary Public, State of New York  
No. 01ZE6180257  
Qualified in Westchester County  
Commission Expires January 7, February 21, 2020

**EXHIBIT A**  
Transcript of Recordings Obtained by  
Project Veritas Action Fund in September 2016

**1. September 15, 2016 Recording A**

SCOTT FOVAL: We're doing a lot of stuff down here that we won't necessarily take credit for, because we're contracted to the DNC...this is happening because we're spreading things out. The problem we're having now, operationally, I can't hire enough people right now.

PVA Reporter: I thought it was young activists, but, you're hiring old ladies?

SCOTT FOVAL: We can hire any demo that we want. We use the same mechanism to recruit them that we do to make focus groups. When we have focus group, you maintain that list...[and select people for training]

PVA REPORTER: You're already pre-screening them to make sure they are, you know, down with the cause.

SCOTT FOVAL: We have to be really careful. Um, because, what we don't need is for it to show up on CNN that the DNC paid for 'x' people to...that's not gonna happen. We need to keep it, you know, I hate to use the Beyonce term, "partition," but we need to keep the partition. That's as gay as I'll get.

SCOTT FOVAL: So, both are in the coordinated space, but AUFC is part of a super pac, not DNC. And so DNC doesn't have to approve of the stuff that we do there, but obviously Bob and myself, and Erin (Aaron?) are the center of those things. And Brad Woodhouse are all on the same page.

SCOTT FOVAL: So Bob got me...the way this thing works. So Democracy Partners is the pinwheel that feeds into Brad Woodhouses' operation, my operation, I feed into Nation Consulting, here, Um...I feed to Our Future, here. It depends on the state and it depends on the issue, which structure we use. Bob's contract –

SCOTT FOVAL:...with AUFC, we can do other things. All I have to do is call Bob, call Brad...

PVA REPORTER: Things like North Carolina.

SCOTT FOVAL: Things like North Carolina. Umm...when we go to things like the state fair. I don't know if you saw the "Make misogyny great again" signs around...we've been doing this duck all over the place...

SCOTT FOVAL: We can do the immigrant message in Chicago. We can do it in Milwaukee, we can do it in Tuscon...it's great. It just depends on the location

**2. September 15, 2016 Recording B**

SCOTT FOVAL: You gotta understand, when you and I began our discussion I was with PFAW. So I had to make a choice, do I go to work with bob, for the DNC contract, so...so you guys understand my role there.

SCOTT FOVAL: I show up, on somebody's doorstep. I literally call them 10 minutes before I get there and say, "Hey, I'm here. Let's do this." One of the people we have a good relationship with, Malik Shabazz [Black Panther activist], he's a minister in Detroit. The stuff up in Flint that week in Detroit, Trump came into town, he just ran into a brick wall of people...that [was us].

SCOTT FOVAL: Bob came back to me and asked me, "What is he talking about?" I told him what we were talking about. He said, "I'm not gonna touch that with a 10-foot pole, now. I go, "Nor

should you. Nor should YOU. He goes, "Good, glad we're on the same page, there. However, other people can make things happen that you don't need to know about.

SCOTT FOVAL: [...] He's still gonna have to know about it.

PVA REPORTER: Who? Creamer? Is that okay? SF: We talk about lots of things that we don't talk about.

SCOTT FOVAL: Bob is very careful because of his previous incarceration. Of being to the letter when it comes to what the lawyers say we can and cannot do. So you understand what Bob was incarcerated for. It was the same thing that Rob [inaudible] was incarcerated for...

SCOTT FOVAL: ...we're talking about a bunch of people who are playing Chicago rules, 20 years ago. Now, they're all under the microscope. There's a whole other generation of people who don't give a shit. And they will do whatever.

PVA REPORTER: And they're faceless.

SCOTT FOVAL: They're faceless.

PVA REPORTER: For now.

SCOTT FOVAL: Mr. Creamer is the prime consultant with the DNC.

SCOTT FOVAL: They're starting conversations in the line. Right? They're not starting confrontations in the rally. Because once they're inside the rally they're under Secret Service's control. The media will cover it no matter where it happens. The key is initiating the conflict by having leading conversations with people who are naturally psychotic. I mean honestly, it is not hard to get some of these assholes to pop off. It is a matter of showing up, to want to get into the rally, in Planned Parenthood t-shirts. Or, Trump is a Nazi, you know. You can message to draw them out, and draw them to punch you. I almost got punched on Monday morning. I was in the duck costume.

### 3. September 15, 2016 Recording C

FOVAL: So the deal with the press angle, we tell them to direct everything back in, that they don't know what they're doing and need some help, and we have somebody help them, and usually it's someone who's not on contract. So here, you have a schedule of events. We update this on an ongoing rolling basis every morning. These are all the Trump and Pence appearances. Tomorrow for instance, we are turning out five hundred people in front of the Trump International in D.C... We have to have people prepared to go wherever these events are, which means we have to have a central kind of agitator training. Now we have a built-in group of people in New York who do this. We have a built-in group of people in D.C. who do this. We have a group of people in Vegas. We have a group of people in Colorado. We have a group of people in Minneapolis. So, you know, if they show up there, we can group them -- Phoenix -- another one. The problem we have right now is, picking and choosing which fights because we have a limited resourcing behind the project.

PVA Reporter: Assume that resources were not an issue. What would that look like?

FOVAL: I would need to check with Bob and see how far he would want to blow it out. And I'll tell you -- Americans United for Change? Brad? He's all about this. I mean, this is the the same guy-

PVA Reporter: All about this in a Charles Roth kind of way.

FOVAL: Yes. Yes. So we're all about sending people in to do stuff, if we can train them up, and get them there. Because the moments are what it's all about. The woman who got up in the town hall and raised hell and got pushed around? And it was all over every network. She was a pre-trained birddogger for a year. For a year. And she was a military mom, and she had been doing

this stuff around the country, and going from within three or four states, from where she lived, just to get that moment, she had been going and been birddogging for a year. Like our New Hampshire birddog teams? We started two years ago when I was still back at PFAW training people. I did three trainings in six months out there.

**PVA Reporter:** So you have first-hand ex

**FOVAL:** So if somebody wants to do a project, where we're inserting conflict into Donald Trump's events across the country. The one thing I would say is, at this point in time, we're not going to insert people into the rally. If they want to go into the rallies themselves, and initiate that conflict, that's fine-

**PVA Reporter:** And I assume you must be able to reach out and let them know the event is happening.

**FOVAL:** So we have plenty of ability to buy lists of people who are currently affiliated with our partner organizations wherever we want to go.

### PVA Reporter: Focus groups?

**FOVAL:** So, I'll give an example. In Iowa. Progress Iowa has a built-in group of people that they can message, who will show up. But what they will not do, is do that unless someone is paying them on the project. Because there's staff time involved, there's transportation involved, there's food, lodging training, whatever, involved. We have these organizations around the country who are allies, who are on the I.E. side, who are on the labor side, but we also have them on our side where we can buy that list and say, 'Hey, if you want spend the next two months leading up the election, making things difficult for Donald Trump...I'd say demographically, getting vets do things is very easy, A) because they need the money, B) they're fearless.

**PVA Reporter:** And they've been in contact.

**FOVAL:** Yeah. The vets are the easiest group to get to show up. But what we have to watch is making sure there's a double blind between the actual campaign and the actual DNC and what we're doing. There's a double-blind there, so that they can plausibly deny that they heard anything about it.

**PVA Reporter:** Do they know -- I mean, Bob Creamer is--

**FOVAL:** Between Bob and myself, Aaron Black, Brad Woodhouse, few other people in town, everybody hears about everything, we're basically on the same group of conference calls -- including the Russians! I use an encrypted system to communicate...

#### 4. September 23, 2016 Recording A

**FOVAL:** I was really hoping that [Roth] and his partner would've come out for this.

**PVA Reporter:** Oh he was going to bring his partner?

**FOVAL:** I don't know. That was kind of my ultimate-, I was hoping it was going to be like "Hey, you know..."

### **PVA Reporter: Elizabeth Pelosi knows his partner?**

## FOVAL: What?

**PVA Reporter: Elizabeth knows-, or Alexandra Pelosi knows his partner?**

**FOVAL: Christine Pelosi knows [Roth] and his partner. 10:13**

**FOVAL (CONT'D):** Yeah we're going to generate a document in the morning. A spreadsheet, for the budget. That's why I'm telling you what's in it now. And based on his reaction or lack thereof, will determine whether we move forward, because honestly? We're kind of, it's kind of at the

point now where we've got to focus on the work, and if he wants to get it done, if we're going to pull the trigger on it and add it to the plan? Then I've got to know.

12:11

FOVAL (CONT'D): So you'll get [the budget proposal] when you get back then. Because I don't think I can get it and cleared with Bob before-

PVA Reporter: And you also have to clear it with the DN-, or that's afterwards?

FOVAL: The messaging is what we have to clear. We already made the call over to Brooklyn to get the clearance from the campaign, because they want to do it anyway.

PVA Reporter: For when he asks, the aggressive birddogging is the stuff inside with the phones.

FOVAL: So fundraiser insertion, and the duck call thing is kind of an integrated thing with the same team of people, with a group of I.E. folks bolted on.

PVA Reporter: Do you get those reactions, those like violent reactions inside the fundraisers?

FOVAL: No, but the fundraiser is to get Trump on the record for what he's saying in the fundraisers.

PVA Reporter: Okay so they're not playing the duck thing.

FOVAL: No. We're not interrupting the fundraiser. What we're trying to do is capture Trump saying stuff, what he says in private, because you know he's saying some shit in private like Romney.

13:56

## 5. September 23, 2016 Recording B

PVA Reporter: So obviously I'm familiar with the birddogging on the grassroots-

FOVAL: So we have the chicken suit guy. We have Cesar's team which does the insertions and captures, and they do the scripting that we talked about. He was running those kinds of things for the Bernie campaign prior to coming back to us, so we couldn't touch him up until the convention. And the-, then there's the I.E. birddogs, that are in addition to that. And those would be the line-stander folks, and the people who would be plastering the lines at Trump events, which questions like "Why won't you release your taxes?" We're talking about turning up the volume on that messaging, on that negative messaging, to a degree that the press is going "What the fuck is going on?" Because all of this is exploding. A giant floating duck on the river past Trump Tower in Chicago. A giant floating duck on the Hudson when he's there. A giant duck on a flatbed outside his hotel in D.C. when he's there. That kind of a [unintelligible]. Giant, big iconic messages -- I'm using the duck as a metaphor here because the campaign hasn't decided whether they're sticking with the duck. But big, big messaging that is very visible, very iconic, to kind of frame the debates [unintelligible].

PVA Reporter: But, there's protesters, which is great, but the stuff, getting it out of the Trump supporters is a whole different animal because you're hearing from the future America if-

FOVAL: If you're there, if you're there, if you're there, and you're protesting and you do these actions, you will be attacked at Trump rallies, that's why we do it.

PVA Reporter: Oh, so that's part of the process, of eliciting the reaction-

FOVAL: The whole point is we know that Trump's people will freak the fuck out, his security team will freak out and his supporters will lose their shit. When you're inside the rally -- that's why we need to go to these specialized team of folks, to do the inside stuff, because they're battle hard.

PVA Reporter: And that's the high level, whereas the-

FOVAL: The I.E. folks, if they get in, great, if they're outside that's fine too. But we're talking about spreading that money around and make sure that they turn out to get their people in a much bigger set of numbers...

PVA Reporter: And media perception-wise, the emphasis is going to be the reaction, not the duck itself.

FOVAL: It's about the intensity of the reaction. The reaction to the duck call, and the signs. Because once they pull out these signs, Trump supporters literally start throwing punches at you.

PVA Reporter: That's the key thing, I think, them being the aggressors, them being the provocateurs-

FOVAL: The one rule we have is, that they have to be the aggressors, not our people. They attack our people.

PVA Reporters: So the duck provocations-

FOVAL: It's a major provocation. I got told to kill myself.

CH: But that doesn't eclipse at all the reaction which is the key-

FOVAL: No the reaction is the story.

11:43

FOVAL (CONT'D): I'm kind of wondering what kind of shit game [Roth]'s playing. Because he's talking certain things to Bob, and you and I aren't in on those conversations, and we were going to have this call today, this could've been a fifteen minute thing. He could've had time.

12:50

FOVAL (CONT'D): We are contracted directly with the DNC and the campaign. I am contracted to [Bob] but I answer to the head of special events at the DNC and the head of special events and political for the campaign. Through Bob. We have certain people who do not get to talk to them, at all. Because they're not up here, they're down here and need on the need-to-know field. I'm half-way in between. So our conversations -- Bob and me -- have been about how we slice the apple. And being carefully to slice the apple in a way that makes the client happy and the donor happy. We are very concerned that the donor doesn't understand that they more he delays the options narrow.

14:32

FOVAL (CONT'D): I came on to AUFC in the beginning of August, but I've been with Democracy since the beginning of June before I even left PFAW. So we've been doing our operations, but it's always been a building thing. The whole duck thing? That came about, the reason we moved it from DNC to AUFC was to just do a hopscotch, but the actual idea was hatched way back in May. That was supposed to be Charles [unintelligible] part of our discussion.

## **6. September 23, 2016 Recording C**

FOVAL: We sent a very small group of about five in, and we do the same thing that we did in Milwaukee and that's where one gets up and protests and they drag him out, next one gets up and protests and they drag him out.

00:33

FOVAL (CONT'D): We have an ongoing series of that kind of stuff. Now the duck stuff...for the aggressive birddogging we want to do in front of the line before the events where we're plastering the outside with the Trump duck message, and then we're going into the events, everyone has their phone, we insert like twenty people, twenty to thirty into the events, where they all have their

phones set to go off on the exact same time, on an alarm, with the duck call, on the inside of the events all at once from all over the [unintelligible].

PVA Reporter: So they'll catch the incident going down?

FOVAL: So we want the media to notice the duck calls, so we have everybody load a ringtone on their phone that are all timed to go off at the exact same time.

PVA Reporter: So it's like a stereo.

FOVAL: And so on the mic you hear the duck call go off in the middle of his speech.

PVA Reporter: That's funny. That's hilarious.

FOVAL: So that's why we want to have a minimum of twenty to thirty people, who haven't [loaded?] on there, so that at that same second you have this giant quack from different parts of the room and they can't pin down exactly where it is, but it's loud enough with twenty to thirty people in the middle, they hear it from different parts of the room. And they pull out cloth signs, and they get removed. So the duck calls go off, and then they protest.

PVA Reporter: And is that an example of aggressive birddogging?

FOVAL: No that's a form of just insertion and protest. CH: Okay.

FOVAL: Birddogging, see he doesn't actually do press conferences, and he doesn't do town halls, he's just doing these rallies, so where you get him is on the rope line, and we do the buddy system where one person is filming and the other person is asking the question, you know, "Why won't you release your taxes? Like literally as him to his face, "Why won't you release his taxes," get his reaction, that's the money shot. So this team does both of those things really really well.

4:43

FOVAL (CONT'D): Part of the problem, I mean we have to be really explicit with him: We're running out of time. So we're going to crank this thing out by Sunday, and we're going to send it to you and him at the same time. We are going to need a decision -- Yae or nay.

5:49: FOVAL (CONT'D): The forty grand is not the hundred grand that he and I talked about. Because we had that conversation, that it was going to be eighty to a hundred, and that was kind of bottom line -- it was the bare entry across that spectrum of what he could talk to me about. So Bob and I are very concerned about making sure we establish this as a long-term relationship that we are able to put some basic results on the map for this election that he could like at and say, "Okay these are some people who actually get shit done." ...All these protests around the country -- the duck stuff -- this is, you'll see at the debates on Monday night, we'll have five bus loads of people out there cheering for Hillary. This is what we do. We are the primary mechanism, as a team, Democracy Partners is the tip of the spear.

PVA Reporter: So in terms of the birddogging though which is separate, there's birddogging which is getting the Trump supporters-

FOVAL: Birddogging insertion is one team of people. Cesar said he could get it up and running within five days.

PVA Reporter: And that's not what already has been going on? This the high level-

FOVAL: This is in addition. These are very highly trained people who do this all the, like, we really need a gotcha, we go to these kinds of people. They've done it before for years, so that's why.

## 7. September 23, 2016 Recording D

PVA REPORTER: Sure. Yeah. I can talk to Alyssa -

SCOTT FOVAL: And if that money came from his personal funds -

PVA REPORTER: - because Alyssa has ears upstairs and she can tell me. But so, okay, in terms of, oh, that communication what I also told him is that if he's really interested in birddogging where the need is especially is in the recruitment and I kind of - he's a troglodyte and I don't really get - I don't exactly get how it works either. I told him basically there's this messaging recruitment system that is kind of covert and it's like encrypted and that's how you get the actual heads.

SCOTT FOVAL: Sometimes we do a formal call, casting call within the groups of our activist who actually do this for a living. That's why [inaudible]. But the communication in triggering them and how they communicate is very black box.

PVA REPORTER: Okay. And I understand. What I told him is that that's an apparatus that needs funding in order to be expanded.

SCOTT FOVAL: Yeah.

PVA REPORTER: So, that'll be in the budget I imagine, right?

SCOTT FOVAL: It's like a switch that you turn on and turn off because we package within Cesar's architecture so that we don't have to activate it. Our biggest problem right now is not that we can't get it done, it's making sure that execution gets done right and it results in profit because that's one thing that Charles is very concerned about. It is something that Bob and I obsess about is we're not going to go to an effort to just do an event and not have anybody

00:25:00 show up or not have it covered. We have to get coverage.

PVA REPORTER: And you guys are getting like - whatever you put together for rock, you also have other donors that -

SCOTT FOVAL: We have a clip deliverable that we have to deliver every day for our group of clients who are involved in this project, AUSA, A4C which is Alliance For Change, Alliance for Retired Americans which is part of AFLPIO. They are one of our partners on the AUFC stuff for Social Security. It depends on the issue. And then there's the DNC and the campaigns and priorities. Priorities are a big part of this too. The campaigns and DNC cannot donate a priority but I guaran-damn-tee you that the people who run the super packs and we and a few other people are the hubs of that communication.

PVA REPORTER: So you're kind of like intermediaries between the super packs and the DNC.

SCOTT FOVAL: [Inaudible].

PVA REPORTER: The DNC, they can't talk to teach other?

SCOTT FOVAL: No.

PVA REPORTER: Okay. But you guys are kind of like -

SCOTT FOVAL: We're consultants so we're not the official [inaudible] so those conversations can be had between consultants who are working for different parties.

PVA REPORTER: Yeah, okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: That's why there's Bob who is the primary there and I'm a sub to him and I'm also a primary to AUFC separately. That's why.

PVA REPORTER: So there's like a Morse code between the DNC and the super pack?

SCOTT FOVAL: [Inaudible] Morse code and a [inaudible]. It's like that. It's kind of like an ongoing Pony Express.

PVA REPORTER: Okay, so I mean that's -

SCOTT FOVAL: It's not as efficient as it could be but that's because the law doesn't allow it to.

PVA REPORTER: So this communication apparatus, the encrypted one, which Charles extensively [inaudible] -

SCOTT FOVAL: [Inaudible] we communicate over it all the time.

PVA REPORTER: Like he would be funding the expansion?



SCOTT FOVAL: What I'm talking about is he's funding a project that uses it. He's funding the project. He's not funding a technical apparatus.

PVA REPORTER: Oh, okay. So I might have mis-relayed because I thought funding was needed for the actual like expansion.

SCOTT FOVAL: No. The funding was needed for [inaudible] part of this project so like funding is needed for that [inaudible] or the 20 that they are short for their TV and radio.

PVA REPORTER: And Cesar, it is his group that would basically be outsourced to -

SCOTT FOVAL: [inaudible]. We would subcontract his group to do the execution and we just hand it off to them and they hand us the schedule, we go.

PVA REPORTER: This is Cesar Dominguez?

SCOTT FOVAL: Cesar Vargas.

PVA REPORTER: Vargas, okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: Keep in mind, I would rather that Charles does not know that name.

PVA REPORTER: Okay. Got it.

#### 8. September 23, 2016 Recording E

00:00:00

SCOTT FOVAL: Okay, so here's the deal. We are going to take - well first, Bob got ahold of our guys who did the original insertions back in the 2000 and 2004 campaigns against Bush were they were inserting people and interrupting his fundraisers and his rallies -

PVA Reporter: In New York?

SCOTT FOVAL: - all over the country, yeah. And then I don't know if you remember - well from - they are the ones who negotiated to get that lawyer in in Florida who recorded the 47 percent.

PVA REPORTER: Wait, I thought that was a bartender.

SCOTT FOVAL: It was actually a lawyer at the [inaudible].

PVA REPORTER: It was not a bartender? Really?

SCOTT FOVAL: No. The lawyer took his phone and had the bartender walk around (inaudible).

PVA REPORTER: Did the bartender get in trouble?

SCOTT FOVAL: [Inaudible]

PVA REPORTER: Okay, good. I was going to say.

SCOTT FOVAL: It was a whole coordinated operation to get the phone it because they had taken away all the cell phones [inaudible] and so what they did was they set it up in the room.

PVA REPORTER: Do I know this lawyer? Are they with the NLG?

SCOTT FOVAL: I have no idea. I have no idea who it is. But, they - the people who do the operations, they have a team of about 25 that this is what they do.

PVA REPORTER: Is this the NLG?

SCOTT FOVAL: I don't know what organization they're with and these are - so Bob is really good friends with them and talked to him this afternoon and they are all in if we can get 25 grand they are all in to do their [inaudible]. We're going to have to add a little bit for [inaudible] of overhead for that and then I would like [inaudible] on top of that. So, we are going to line item [inaudible] into one new proposal that will say this is now, this is now, this is later and script it out so she can basically do it all by herself.

PVA REPORTER: So which part is which, like operations?

SCOTT FOVAL: So the operation is to insert and get the doc message in there if we can or the extremist message depending on - we have to clear this with the DNC.

PVA REPORTER: [Inaudible]

SCOTT FOVAL: With Democratic National Committee, we have to clear which methods we're going to be targeting at each event but they can insert into multiple events now through the end of the election on a continual - on a daily basis but basically do a chase all the way across the country.

PVA REPORTER: What I would love, not that it matters, but what I would love to see is like the eve of every debate so it's like an elephant in the room, do you know what I mean? You know, I don't know, that's just my -

SCOTT FOVAL: So the reality of the way this is going to work is they have to have multiple opportunities to get into the event in the first place plus for fundraiser so we are going to try to get into the fundraisers and that requires a lot of on the fly movement because of the way he does his scheduling to get in the room with him. We're not really going to focus on [inaudible] at all. It's just not really worth it. It's only worth [inaudible] because we want to catch him at what he says in front of funders that he won't say at his rally.

PVA REPORTER: How do you do that? These are not at rallies?

SCOTT FOVAL: No. This would be a split operation, some at fundraisers, some at rallies because we are assuming that we can't get in to most of the fundraisers but we will keep trying until we get somebody in.

## 9. September 15, 2016 Recording D

SCOTT FOVAL: One of the challenges I, I, I'll be honest, so one of the, one of the, one of (inaudible) for me, that I'm going to have to invest out of my fund, is the accounting piece...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: that does the books, that have to, that had to happen, I have to make sure that we can get money in and get money out of the funnel really fast and that will be an additional thing that, that'll be (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Is that gonna be putting Charles in any kind of additional risk?

PVA REPORTER: Hm, I'm sorry, I, well, what, I mean, what do you, hm?

SCOTT FOVAL: The private firms, we can do whatever we want, we don't have to disclose it.

PVA REPORTER: I think what he's talking about is (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Oh, I see, okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: No, no, no, I mean, literally like having somebody take all the receipts and pay the bills...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: that is not part of Democracy Partner staff 'cause I don't think Linda has the capacity to do that.

PVA REPORTER: I do.

PVA REPORTER: So in terms of who, like who he does transfer, like who he is donating to...

SCOTT FOVAL: I need to white board it.

PVA REPORTER: Okay, so we just, so...

SCOTT FOVAL: Yeah.

PVA REPORTER: If, it isn't gonna be, I don't even know how he arranged the last, uhm, donation, but...

SCOTT FOVAL: I'll write a donation directly to AUFC.

PVA REPORTER: Okay. so it wouldn't necessarily be that way again, or would it?

SCOTT FOVAL: I don't know, I gotta talk to...

PVA REPORTER: Okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: I gotta talk to Bob and Brad.

PVA REPORTER: Okay. And what might happen...

SCOTT FOVAL: (inaudible) you guys, if he is not, if they're not comfortable with it,

02:15:00 they would have said, hey, you know what, let's shuffle the deck and go maintain this role for us and...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: this role for DNC and then doing your next role and doing a separate contract and make a donation back, to kick it back to us to compensate on the other side. I mean, we do this with Al Trotley.

PVA REPORTER: (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: (inaudible)

SCOTT FOVAL: No, this was with Al Trotley.

PVA REPORTER: So where...

SCOTT FOVAL: (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Probably (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: (inaudible)

SCOTT FOVAL: Anyway.

PVA REPORTER: Uhm.

SCOTT FOVAL: And so...

PVA REPORTER: So, so but, but it's, but again, it's like a (inaudible)

SCOTT FOVAL: I need to call, I need to call...

PVA REPORTER: (inaudible) for everything.

SCOTT FOVAL: There's still a (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: You're donating, just say that.

PVA REPORTER: Is this an, I mean, is this a new thing the, the, like for the bird-dogging prog... program to get fund... to get, uhm, do... like funded, or by outside contributors?

SCOTT FOVAL: To go this aggressive (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Okay.

PVA REPORTER: But you...

SCOTT FOVAL: So he'd be behind the mission you understand, but like if somebody funds this kinda stuff, they fund it because, okay, like a marriage...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: they fund it because they want to be part of this (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Right.

SCOTT FOVAL: Aggressive bird-dogging is one of those things that only certain living things and there's only certain people trying out to do....

PVA REPORTER: Uh-huh.

#### 10. September 15, 2016 Recording E

SCOTT FOVAL: The, the surrogate voter thing is, it's not possible to do at this time.

PVA REPORTER: That's what I mean, by re-enfranchising though.

SCOTT FOVAL: You meant in the next 60 days?

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm, yeah.

SCOTT FOVAL: He, we don't, we don't have the time

01:50:00 to get the re-enfranchisement program as we discussed it...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: and keep it legal...

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

SCOTT FOVAL: and double-blind, we just don't have time...

PVA REPORTER: You mean, leg... legalizing it?

SCOTT FOVAL: for here.

PVA REPORTER: 'Cause it's not legal, so it's not legal what he wants to do?

SCOTT FOVAL: Oh, uhm, I think not.

PVA REPORTER: I mean, pay... paying, paying people to vote on behalf of other people...

SCOTT FOVAL: Uhm...

PVA REPORTER: and using (inaudible)

SCOTT FOVAL: So, so paying people to relocate to the state of Wisconsin in order to vote, we're literally just running out of time for them to, you know, register to vote.

PVA REPORTER: Right.

SCOTT FOVAL: And it's a same-day registration.

PVA REPORTER: That's...

PVA REPORTER: That's what may be illegal.

SCOTT FOVAL: They need to be willing to give up their vote somewhere else in order to do that which (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: His, his vision is they, originally it was bussing from County to County.

SCOTT FOVAL: That we just, we really can't, we can't.

PVA REPORTER: Just with the addresses and the...

SCOTT FOVAL: (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: employer issue that you're (inaudible)

SCOTT FOVAL: (inaudible) They're too wired, they're too wired up here, they're too wired up.

PVA REPORTER: Okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: It's just not possible.

PVA REPORTER: So that's something we're, we're...

SCOTT FOVAL: Yes. Yes.

PVA REPORTER: just gonna have to break the news to him on, unless there's other...

SCOTT FOVAL: There's not another avenue.

PVA REPORTER: What's, what's...

PVA REPORTER: Uh, well, Josh Hoyt?

PVA REPORTER: No.

PVA REPORTER: No? Okay, so...

SCOTT FOVAL: He, he doesn't have any other (inaudible)

PVA REPORTER: Oh, okay.

SCOTT FOVAL: He'll, he'll say he does.

PVA REPORTER: Well, okay.

PVA REPORTER: Well, okay, so it's really, I think this is the selling point, we tell him, uhm, we get him in on this, on this, uhm, uh, bird... uh, bird...

SCOTT FOVAL: With the, the bird-dogging, the aggressive bird-dogging.

PVA REPORTER: That comes with the media.

SCOTT FOVAL: And the engagement. What I, what I call it conflict engagement.

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

PVA REPORTER: Uh-hm.

PVA REPORTER: That's, that's your, that's your version of re-enfranchisement.

SCOTT FOVAL: Conflict engagement in, in the lines at Trump rallies, we're starting anarchy here. You need to understand that we're starting anarchy.

#### 11. September 23, 2016 Recording F

FOVAL (CONT'D): AUFC and Democracy Partners have multiple clients, but turning up this higher-level stuff, this would be something where Charles would be kickstarting it. I mean literally the conversation with Cesar happened today, to make sure that we could execute what we were talking about. Because when I told Bob that, you know, we needed to adjust, and then he called and talk to Charles, the thing that came back was, Okay we've got some good news and bad news.

4:20

FOVAL (CONT'D): So we will deliver a framed budget. That will have these two things built on, so Voces Field, which is 14K, and Voces Media, which is pending, right now it's at a minimum of five and up to twenty depending on what we can get funded. These two exist under the Foval Group, okay? These exist under Democracy Partners/AUFC. And so the idea is to fold this stuff into what he's already done. And I really would like to get his help on this, I'm not asking him to fund the whole thing. But if he put 5K towards it I can get the other money. But it is so important now that, he's got to literally do a Yes/No-Yes/No on his preferences, and we've got to know by like Tuesday.

PVA Reporter: Okay. I'll tell him.

FOVAL: And if he doesn't, the clock's going to run out. And we're going to be talking about, Okay, make a general donation to AUFC and we'll fold it into the visibility option.

17:38

PVA Reporter: So as far as the encrypted messaging, so that's not something -- that's something already in place.

FOVAL: That's a black box that we use all the time.

PVA Reporter: And should you guys be communicating with Roth through that?

FOVAL: Eventually.

PVA Reporter: Okay. Yeah because I was just connecting the dots between the concerns about-

FOVAL: Some things can be semi-private and some things black box.

PVA Reporter: Okay. I was just thinking in terms of concerns about what you were saying earlier, if that would be better to have on that channel.

FOVAL: He doesn't get brought into it until we find a reason for him to be brought into it because quite frankly, it's safer [unintelligible].

Exhibit B



**Scott Foval**  
@scottfoval




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10:10 PM - 1 Oct 2016

 Sun Prairie, WI



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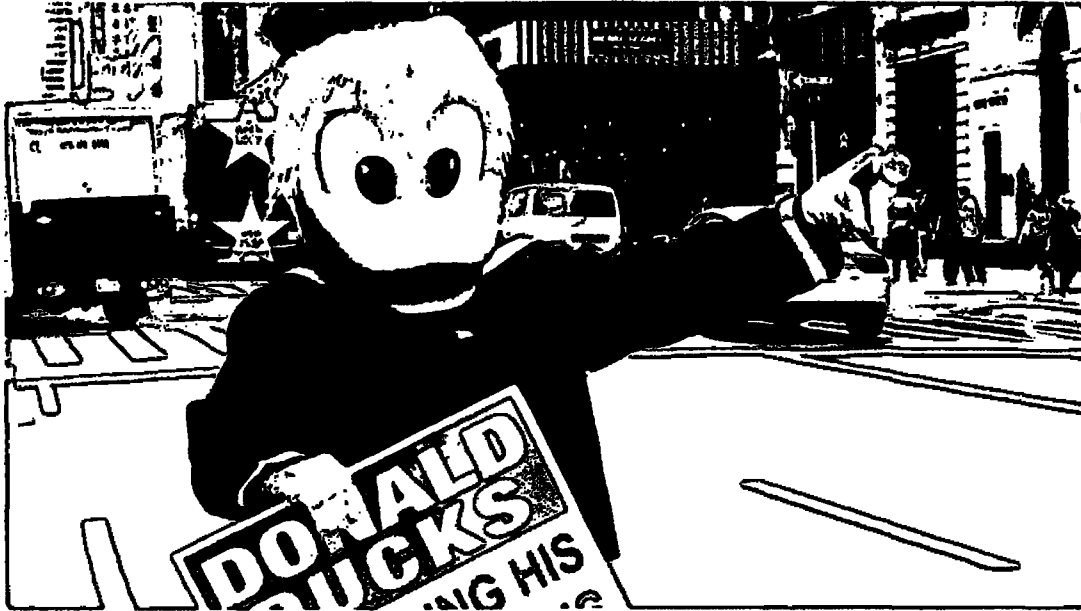


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So damned proud of my #Chicago / #UIC crews today. #ShutItDown #DumpTrump

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<https://web.archive.org/web/20161018205345/https://twitter.com/scottfoval/status/708519658543046656>

## **EXHIBIT C**

### **PROPOSAL MEMORANDUM**

**September 28, 2016**

**TO: Steve Packard**

**FR: Scott Foval**

**RE: Proposal for Charles Roth's consideration**

**Steve:**

Thank you for traveling out to Milwaukee for Voces De La Frontera's gala after our last meeting. As we discussed, here is the lay-of-the-land and what I would propose as possible solutions for actions and activities in the last 40 days of the election cycle. If you could please share these items with your client, Mr. Roth, we would enjoy having him engaged in this program.

1) We are prepared to engage our contractor Cesar Vargas Esq. of DRM Capitol Group. His team of organizers has extensive experience gaining access and inserting targeted messages directly into candidate events, protests, and aggressive bird-dogging. We would propose the following ..

1. Organize multiple "Trump El Malo" outreach events to highlight the dangerous policies that would harm the Latino/African American community and push voter turnout.
2. Confrontations: Special Forces. This would be similar to getting confrontations with Pence/Trump/and key staff and some of his children.

Focus would be on following states:

## EXHIBIT C

- Iowa
- Illinois
- Nevada
- Virginia
- Wisconsin
- Ohio
- Florida

II) Our key ally in Wisconsin, Voces De La Frontera Action, continues to do field organizing in 9 areas of the state to boost turnout of Latino voters. They have a 2-pronged approach to this activity

1. Documentation and Citizenship assistance to allow new citizens to know their rights and gain the right to vote (i.e. create new voters from immigrants)
2. Mobilization and GOTV to get latino voters to the polls, through major data-driven outreach, maximize returns-on-investments in the effort
3. Protests and media campaigns targeted at Trump / Pence / Johnson / Sensenbrenner / Ryan to 'wake up' the latino electorate as to why they should vote against these candidates.

Item I would be executed under our client organization Americans United For Change, and managed by Cesar under the AUFC banner. AUFC's media and digital teams are prepared to take all product from both of the projects noted in Item 1 and amplify them in the broadcast and digital spaces. AUFC has a very long track record of working in the national political press to move stories like these around. Disclosure: I am AUFC's National Field Director, and manage the field mobilization teams that make these actions happen across the country. Cost for this section is approximately \$35,000 00 for actions + \$10,000 to AUFC for media amplification and distribution activities (writing, editing, production, pitching, digital, etc.).

Item II are being executed by Voces De La Frontera Action's teams that have already been put in motion this cycle. VDLFA needs to complete full funding of the last section of their field and media programs. The field

## EXHIBIT C

program is in need of \$14,000 to complete its funding, and the media program is \$10,000 short of its \$20,000 total goal. (i.e. a total of \$24,000 donation is still being sought to complete these portions of the plan.

The following table outlines the Items / Costs / and Priorities for these projects...

ITEM	COST	PRIORITY
Insertion / Aggressive Bird-Dog	\$35,000	to High
AUFC Production / Distribution	\$10,000	to High
VDLFA Field GOTV	\$14,000	High - Critical
VDLFA Media Plan	\$20,000 (\$10K already raised)	High

I must stress that the actions of the AUFC and VDLFA actions that are outlined above are intertwined, as VDLF and AUFC are working together with other ally organizations to make the entire dual-pronged plan outlined above happen. We have other donors who have already contributed to this overall plan, and we would love to have Charles Roth's participation in this plan if he is willing and able to do so.

Please let me know your thoughts on this plan, and by all means please have Charles call me or Bob Creamer to cover details.

Sincerely,

Scott Foval

President, The Foval Group LLC / Field Director, Americans United for Change

202-827-6140

scottfoval@fovalgroup.com



## Fall 2016 Plan to Motivate Voters:

### Americans United for Change Progressive Economic Campaign 2016

*Vote November 8<sup>th</sup> for a Stronger Economy that Makes Us Stronger Together*

The economic anxiety of Americans from across the political spectrum has been a recurring theme during the 2016 election season. It is forefront on voters' minds and has been central to voter mobilization in the primaries. Voters as disparate as those who supported Bernie Sanders to those who continue to support Donald Trump have expressed anxiety, and often outright anger, at stagnant wages, underemployment, the high cost of college, the wealthy not paying their fair share of taxes and those at the top calling all the shots, just to name a few.

Incomes are not flat for most Americans because the economy as a whole has failed to grow. In fact, per person gross domestic product in the United States has increased 48% over the last 30 years. America is wealthier per person today than at any time in its history.

Incomes are not flat because immigrants and poor people have taken money from the pockets of ordinary workers. The data shows that incomes are flat because billionaires like Donald Trump have siphoned off virtually every dime of that per person economic growth and kept it for themselves.

Trump and the alt-right are using immigrants and Muslims as scapegoats in the long tradition of right wing nationalist movements throughout modern history.

To counter the white supremacist alt-right narrative between now and Election Day, we must simultaneously mobilize recent immigrants to vote and offer a clear and compelling economic narrative that provides clear, progressive solutions to the wage stagnation that provides the fertile ground in which right wing authoritarian nationalism takes root.

To some extent the Democratic progressive economic agenda has recently been obscured by distractions and controversies mostly having to do with the unique presidential candidacy of Donald Trump. In fact, if the election were held today and Democrats won up and down the ballot in a landslide, conventional wisdom would be that Donald Trump had tanked the Republican ticket and that Democrats had no mandate to take action on the most important issues facing the American people.

That is why it is imperative that those of us who care about making progress on a host of progressive economic issues push these issues to the forefront of campaigns across the country in

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the lead up to Election Day. We know that these issues matter to voters, and will be key to our economic progress in 2017 and beyond.

And it is also imperative that resources be directed to data driven efforts to register and turn out immigrant voters, so that when the smoke from 2016 clears there can be no question that no Republican will ever again win the presidency while espousing anti-immigrant, rightwing nationalist views in the United States.

Americans United for Change is uniquely positioned to run a campaign in key states and Congressional districts across the country to promote popular progressive economic policy goals, to support the progressive candidates who advocate for those goals, and to hold Donald Trump and Republicans accountable for supporting policies that favor fat-cat donors, corporations and the wealthiest few over everyone else.

It is also well positioned to oversee fully integrated, targeted get out the vote operations among recent immigrant voters in key states. In fact, Americans United for Change personnel have decades of experience organizing, managing and overseeing hundreds of field based door to door get out the vote efforts.

Combined, our efforts this fall will serve the dual functions of keeping these issues in the media, and also energizing our voters, particularly progressive voters, who are motivated and passionate about the economy and the progressive solutions in which we believe.

Working with our allies in labor, immigration, the civil rights, and money in politics communities on the ground, we will be able to reach a wide array of voters who are motivated and passionate about these issues—while also conveying our message that is extremely popular to voters across the political spectrum.

### **The Plan**

Americans United for Change is proposing to run a campaign for the eight weeks leading up to the election on November 8<sup>th</sup> in 17 key states that combines Get Out the Vote messaging with progressive economic policy proposals that polling in the past has shown both have the potential to turn out our core supporters and persuade undecided voters to join our side. The working title of this effort is: **Vote November 8<sup>th</sup> for a Stronger Economy that Makes Us Stronger Together** – which combines the imperative to push people to vote with the aspirational desire for a stronger economy and a less divided country.

Elements of AUFC's economic messaging initiative will include:

- **A dedicated national rapid response operation** to hold Republicans accountable for their positions on the economy throughout the course of the campaign.
- **A digital operation for both GOTV, persuasion and rapid response** around core progressive economic issues targeted at key states and races.

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- **A field operation that will include field/communications capacity in five core states to conduct rapid response and hold proactive events.** Those states would be: Nevada, Florida, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. We will be running a concurrent Social Security project targeting Republican Senate candidates in these same states—an issue we know is strongly motivating for certain sets of voters.
- **A national bus tour promoting core progressive economic issues and candidates and lambasting Trump and GOP candidates for their positions favoring the wealthy.** The bus tour would wind its way through these five core states and twelve more (New Hampshire, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Colorado, Arizona, Maine, New York, Missouri and Nebraska). These twelve states, along with the core five mentioned above, provide a desirable overlap of core presidential battleground states, presidential expansion states, key swing and potential wave opportunity Senate and House race battlegrounds and a handful of key gubernatorial races. The chart below shows the overlap of key races in the 17 states mentioned above. *In the past, similar tours conducted by Americans United for Change have generated earned media that is the equivalent of advertising costing three times as much. And the persuasive power of earned media is substantially greater than paid TV commercials.*
- **Measurement:** Quantifiable value of television press coverage based on estimate of equivalent TV advertising per news service TVeyes.
- **Prioritization:** Our five top priority states include Nevada, Florida, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Ohio. A list of 17 target states that would be the focus of the “Full Program” are listed below.

**States:**

	POTUS	Senate	House	Gov.
<b>Florida</b>	X	Rubio	FL-07 (Red to Blue) FL-10 (Red to Blue) FL-13 (Red to Blue) FL-18 (Red to Blue) FL-26 (Red to Blue)	
<b>Nevada</b>	X	Open	NV-03 (Red to Blue) NV-04 Red to Blue)	
<b>Ohio</b>	X	Portman		
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	X	Toomey	PA-08 (Red to Blue) PA-16	



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			(Emerging Races)	
<b>Wisconsin</b>	X	<b>Johnson</b>	WI-08 (Red to Blue)	
<b>Arizona</b>	X	<b>McCain</b>	AZ-1 (Red to Blue) AZ-2 (Emerging Candidates)	
<b>Colorado</b>	X	<b>Bennet</b>	CO-03 (Red to Blue) CO-06 (Red to Blue)	
<b>Georgia</b>	X			
<b>Illinois</b>		<b>Kirk</b>	IL-10 (Red to Blue)	
<b>Indiana</b>		<b>Open</b>	IN-09 (Red to Blue)	Open
<b>Maine</b>	X		ME-2 (Red to Blue)	
<b>Missouri</b>	X			Open
<b>Nebraska</b>	X			
<b>New Hampshire</b>	X	<b>Ayotte</b>	NH-01 (Red to Blue)	Open, Primary Sept. 13
<b>New York</b>			NY-01 (Red to Blue) NY-03 (Red to Blue) NY-19 (Red to Blue) NY-21 (Red to Blue) NY-22 (Red to Blue) NY-23 (Red to Blue) NY-24 (Red to Blue)	
<b>North Carolina</b>	X	<b>Burr</b>		Pat McCrory
<b>Virginia</b>	X		VA-04 (Red to Blue) VA-10 (Red to Blue) VA-05 (Emerging	

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			Races)	
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**Subject to input from stakeholders, this campaign would focus on the following core, progressive economic goals:**

→ **Making the tax system fair for everyone:** Everyone should pay their fair share, even the wealthy and corporations.

**We must:**

- Make sure millionaires pay a tax rate at least as high as that paid by middle-class taxpayers.
- Close tax loopholes for companies that move jobs overseas and/or avoid paying taxes.

→ **Improve the incomes of ordinary Americans – including recent immigrants.**

**We must:**

- Strengthen and protect unions, who are central to a strong and thriving middle class.
- Pass the Equal Pay Act to ensure equal pay for equal work, which will help women and their families get fairly compensated for the hours they are already working.
- Pass comprehensive immigration reform.
- Crack down on corporations that cheat workers out of pay for the hours they have worked.
- Protect and enhance Social Security.
- Ensure workers have access to paid family and medical leave.
- Raise the minimum wage, which will not only help workers making the minimum wage but also help lift all incomes.

→ **Make investments that will create jobs and grow the economy.**

**We must:**

- Increase infrastructure investments that create jobs, such as roads, bridges, schools and mass transit.
- Invest in clean renewable energy sources to create jobs and reduce dependence on foreign oil.

→ **Make college more affordable and accessible.**

**We must:**

- Reduce the cost of going to college and the burden of student debt.
- Ensure all community colleges offer tuition free of charge.

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- Make sure students have the option of graduating from a state college or university free of student debt.
- Enable borrowers with high interest rates to refinance their student loans at the current rates.
- Increase funding for K-12 public schools.

**Our Latino Mobilization Initiative will focus on recent immigrant voters in the State of Wisconsin.**

The program will be conducted by Voces de Frontera Action (plan and full budget attached).

Their entire program involves voter mobilization using door-to-door canvassing, phone contact, radio and TV, mail and robo calls.

Americans United for Change proposes to finance the bulk of the door-to-door component of this effort and will receive reports measuring progress weekly measuring GOTV voter contacts at the door and conversations at the door.

The entire Voces de Frontera project is targeted to 20,463 Latino households in Milwaukee, Racine and Greenbay that have a lower propensity to vote. This represents approximately 60% of the overall Latino population.

Each of these households will get 3 knocks on the door, for a total of 61,389 contacts that either result in actual conversations or door hangers left urging the household to vote.

In our experience approximately 40% of these contacts will result in actual voter conversation or about 24,555.

The overall Voces de Frontera project has a budget of \$180,000.

Currently the project has a financial shortfall of \$50,000, which would go entirely to finance the door-to-door voter mobilization effort in Milwaukee which has a direct cost of \$56,000. This portion of the program is expected to generate the lions share of overall GOTV voter contacts.

Americans United for Change will receive weekly updates on the progress of the project at reaching in goals.

#### **Overall Budgets**

Americans United for Change has prepared two budget options. The first "Base Line" budget will allow for full support of the Voces de Frontera Milwaukee plan and also a full economic messaging program and bus tour in 5 states.

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The second "Full Project" budget allows for full support of the Voces de Frontera Milwaukee plan and full economic messaging program and bus tour in 17 states.

The organization continues to raise funds and hopes to assemble enough resources to do the full plan of 17 states, though it can begin work on the project if enough is raised to support its "base line" budget projections.

**Proposed Base Line Budget for Americans United Plan for 5 States:**

Voter Mobilization Operation: \$50,000

Field/Communications Staff: \$30,000

Signs, collateral, and event costs: \$7,500 (\$1,500 per state)

Digital GOTV and bus tour promotion: \$10,000

Bus tour costs September/October—\$102,000 (wrap, sound system, staffing, advance team and consultants, drivers, hotels, permits, ancillary event costs)

**TOTAL: \$200,000**

**Proposed Full Program Budget for Americans United Plan for 17 States:**

Voter Mobilization Operation: \$50,000

Field/Communications Staff: \$50,000

Signs, collateral, and event costs: \$25,500 (\$1,500 per state)

Digital GOTV and bus tour promotion: \$25,000

Bus tour costs September/October—\$275,000 (wrap, sound system, staffing, advance team and consultants, drivers, hotels, permits, ancillary event costs)

**TOTAL: \$425,500**

## EXHIBIT D

# VOCES DE LA FRONTERA ***ACTION***



### Latinos in the Badger State: Building a progressive Latino voting bloc 2016 and beyond

Voces de la Frontera Action is the c4 arm of Voces de la Frontera. Voces is Wisconsin's largest Latino membership-led organization and advocates for the rights of immigrants, students and workers.

Our members are predominantly low-income Latinos and immigrants residing in Southeastern Wisconsin, mainly in the cities of Milwaukee and Racine, where 60% of Wisconsin's Latino population resides. We also have an active membership in most of the state's geographic areas where Latinos are concentrated: Dane County, Waukesha County and Walworth County. Voces' youth arm is called Youth Empowered in the Struggle (YES) and is organized into school chapters. Voces de la Frontera Action has 680 adult members current in their annual dues. YES has 14 chapters (in both Milwaukee and Racine)-11 high schools, one middle school, and 2 college. There are 130 youth members aged 14-24 current in their dues, with the majority of students in high school. The ethnic makeup of Voces' youth organizing started with 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Chicano students, and then grew to include immigrant youth, as well as African-American students and white working class youth.

This year we are very focused on further statewide growth. On February 18<sup>th</sup> our organizing efforts made headlines across the state, country, and even internationally when over 40,000 Latino workers participated in a general strike and mobilization on the Capitol to oppose anti-immigrant bills AB 450 (anti-sanctuary cities/show me your papers law) and SB 533 (preventing counties from issuing local IDs). We are engaging emerging leaders and new members as we bring the same high energy to get out the Latino vote and put progressive pro-immigrant candidates into office. Voces de la Frontera Action members endorsed Russ Feingold, a very pro-immigrant progressive, in his US Senate race against Ron Johnson, an anti-immigrant Tea Party Republican and Hillary Clinton for US president. In the Green Bay area there is a US Congress open seat, in which the Latino vote could have impact. In the last election for that seat, the margin of victory was around 2,500 votes. Latinos eligible to vote in the City of Green Bay are around 2,250, and only 15% turned out to vote in the previous election.

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### **Background**

**Voces de la Frontera Action (Voces) and our youth arm Youth Empowered in the Struggle (YESI) has a strong record for successfully organizing low income Latino and African American voters in key wards in Milwaukee and Racine since 2004 which has contributed to our deep trust in these communities. In 2011 Voces de la Frontera c3 successfully advocated for redistricting maps at the school board and city aldermanic level to create new districts that encompassed the growing Latino community. At the state level, Voces de la Frontera successfully defeated a state legislative effort to disenfranchise Latino voters in Milwaukee through the redistricting process.**

**The U.S. Citizen children of DAPA eligible parents, in combination with naturalized voters (72,000 LPRs' statewide) and increased registration and turnout of the Latino vote, represents a powerful pro-immigrant voting block that has the potential turn Wisconsin into a pro-immigrant, progressive state, similar to California. According to a November 2015 report, "DAPA Matters: The Growing Electorate Directly affected by Executive Action on Immigration," Wisconsin is one of 22 states where U.S. Citizen children directly impacted by DAPA, will have a significant impact on the presidential elections. For Wisconsin, U.S. Citizen children of DAPA eligible parents, turning 18 and eligible to vote in November 2016, represent 6,406 votes or 3% of the state's 7.1% (213,019) margin of victory in 2012. In 2020, this number doubles and 11,638 of DAPA affected youth votes in Wisconsin jumps to 5% of the 7.1% margin of victory in 2012. This voting block is significant in WI and nationally because the Latino voting population is growing while other ethnic group numbers are declining.**

**This potential is not lost on conservative forces. The Koch brothers have targeted Wisconsin Latino voters by starting a LIBRE group and have hired a statewide organizer as a way to engage Latino voters in 2016 and future elections. Conservatives have been running year round advertisement through America's PAC on both African American and Spanish language radio. In addition, the state legislature just passed one of the most restrictive voter ID laws in the country that will take effect this year.**

**Voces de la Frontera has a strong partnership with progressive coalition partners at the local and statewide level advocating for immigrant and racial rights, economic justice, and protecting public education. In 2014, in Racine, WI we worked in a universe of just under 21,000 voters and organized in the top 14 wards with highest concentrations of Black and Latino voters. This year we plan to build off of the successful canvass structure that produced over 78% voter turnout in the target wards on election-day in Racine during the 2014 elections. In November 2014, YES in Racine won a school funding referendum at a time when public education funding was (and still is) under attack. In Milwaukee, in 2014, Voces de la Frontera Action focused on 15 majority-Latino wards in Milwaukee's near South Side. Voter turnout jumped 25% in our wards comparable to the comparable election four years ago. This represented a historic accomplishment**

## EXHIBIT D

since for the first time since 2004, the Latino dense wards we worked in, turned out at higher rate than the rest of the city. The growth rate in our wards was more than double the 10.6% increase throughout the rest of the City. In addition, while the Voces de la Frontera Action endorsed candidate for governor lost statewide, winning 46.6% of 2.4 million votes, in Voces de la Frontera Action's 15 wards, the preferred candidate won 79.5% of the vote: 3,952 to 1,018. Latino voters were more aligned with the issues and the candidate unlike a state trend of voters supporting local referendums for a living wage yet voting for the gubernatorial candidate that opposed a living wage. This level of participation and candidate choice countered the national trend of Latino voting in November 2014.

The November 2016 presidential elections are critical to protecting deferred action for 5 million students and parents (DACA/DAPA), challenging racist politics in the US mainstream, and building renewed momentum for good legislative immigration reform and winning strong administrative relief and bad enforcement in the first 100 days of the presidency. In addition, to building a strong united front with other progressive forces on both a economic and civil rights agenda.

Wisconsin, a swing state, in which the Latino vote is important, is critical in national elections because of the presidential elections, the Wisconsin US Senate race with challenger Russ Feingold versus Tea Party Senator Ron Johnson (who heads the DHS Committee), and increasing accountability to US House Speaker Paul Ryan for his anti-worker, anti-immigrant agenda and whose district is vulnerable to a left challenge in coming election cycles given his own small 11 point margin of victory in 2012 in his congressional district

(See article: <http://www.jsonline.com/blogs/news/340463461.html>).

### VOCES DE LA FRONTERA ACTION UNIVERSE

1. In Milwaukee, 10 paid canvassers plus volunteers [10 per week at the start, building to 40 per week at the end]
2. Attached is a list of our target wards in Milwaukee, along with demographic data for each. In summary:
  - a. 48 wards
  - b. total population (2012 data): 101,095 people [about one-sixth of the City of Milwaukee]
  - c. 18,752 doors, to be canvassed three times
  - d. total voting age population: 67,249
  - e. total Latino voting age population: 40,060
  - f. Latinos are 60% of the voting age population in these 48 wards combined; median Latino proportion is 65%
3. Timeline in Milwaukee:
  - a. First pass completed by Sept. 17
  - b. Second pass completed by Oct. 15

## EXHIBIT D

- c. Third pass completed by Nov. 5
- d. Our first canvass was Saturday, Aug. 20. As of today (Tuesday, Aug. 23) we have worked in 5 wards [235-239]
- 4. In addition to canvassing, we will follow up with best prospects using the RVP (Regional Voting Program).
  - a. Weekly session at Voces Action office every Tuesday, 5:30-7:00. The goal is to sign up at least 10 people each week for our "soft ask;" that is, a pledge to contact about 20 people once each month to make sure people are going to vote for Clinton and Feingold
  - b. Also, our goal is to sign up 3 people weekly to go beyond the "soft ask" and agree to be Block Captains with significantly enhanced long-term commitment
  - c. Our goal is to use this election to create lasting year-round organizational infrastructure with members of YES and Voces de la Frontera Action.
- 5. Volunteers work Saturday and/or Sunday
  - a. Sometimes they will work from turf lists, supplementing the work of the paid canvassers
  - b. Some days they will work at places which attract large numbers of Latinos, such as grocery stores, soccer games, festivals
  - c. Some days they will work in Green Bay
- 6. Timeline in Green Bay:
  - a. Initial Green Bay training and canvassing on Saturday, Aug. 27.
  - b. Follow-up canvassing each Saturday/Sunday
  - c. We are still in the process of selecting targeted wards for Green Bay.
- 7. Engaging Latino voters in Racine, Madison, and Waukesha:
  - a. In partnership with We Are Wisconsin, VFA will have a dedicated statewide organizer to engage new chapter members in the elections.
  - b. For Green Bay and Madison, Voces de la Frontera Action will hire 2 part time canvassers to create campaign structure for volunteers to fold into, that includes canvassing, phone banking, and a limited regional voting program with pledge cards.
  - c. For Racine Walworth County, the statewide organizer will work with local leaders to implement a limited RVP program with pledge cards for the Elections.
- 8. Other tactics for Voter Engagement include a robocall, direct calls, a mailing, and public events coordinated with national partners, including: Citizenship Day, Voter Registration Day, Women's Equality Day, and Early Voting. In addition to organizing a presence to protest Trump visits to state to condemn the politics of hate and division that is the platform of the campaign.



—100—

—100—

—100—

# EXHIBIT D

City Of Milwaukee	233	187	1,365	900	700	78%
City Of Milwaukee	234	251	1,290	852	604	71%
City Of Milwaukee	235	948	1,941	1,680	417	25%
City Of Milwaukee	236	361	2,263	1,528	1,131	74%
City Of Milwaukee	237	524	3,033	1,992	1,465	74%
City Of Milwaukee	238	428	2,831	1,742	1,259	72%
City Of Milwaukee	239	399	2,296	1,506	1,038	69%
City Of Milwaukee	240	468	2,262	1,520	959	63%
City Of Milwaukee	250	294	1,749	1,105	745	67%
City Of Milwaukee	251	197	1,476	893	623	70%
City Of Milwaukee	252	373	2,551	1,665	1,044	63%
City Of Milwaukee	253	174	1,108	730	486	67%
City Of Milwaukee	254	183	1,325	807	560	69%
City Of Milwaukee	255	273	1,407	911	634	70%
City Of Milwaukee	256	245	1,946	1,222	869	71%
City Of Milwaukee	257	477	3,327	2,076	1,427	69%
City Of Milwaukee	258	503	3,119	2,005	1,223	61%
City Of Milwaukee	259	338	1,912	1,273	748	59%
City Of Milwaukee	282	350	1,291	988	281	28%
City Of Milwaukee	283	504	1,938	1,398	489	35%
City Of Milwaukee	284	487	1,722	1,225	555	45%
City Of Milwaukee	285	114	612	385	243	63%

## EXHIBIT D

Milwaukee						
City Of Milwaukee	286	328	1,341	1,025	331	32%
City Of Milwaukee	287	278	1,053	776	252	32%
City Of Milwaukee	288	686	2,349	1,714	499	29%
City Of Milwaukee	289	410	1,867	1,300	575	44%
City Of Milwaukee	290	366	2,255	1,482	921	62%
City Of Milwaukee	291	372	1,898	1,284	726	57%
City Of Milwaukee	292	421	1,485	1,087	353	32%
City Of Milwaukee	317	530	1,578	1,191	189	16%
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>18,752</b>	101,095	67,249	<b>40,060</b>	<b>60%</b>

# EXHIBIT D

PROGRAM	NUMBER	TOTAL NEEDED	COST PER UNIT	UNIT	SUBTOTALS	NOTES
Operating	1	1	334.05	Week	\$ 5,516.70	Exe. Dir. 15 hours a week Aug. 1-Nov. 15 (15 weeks)
Operating	1	1	294.30	Week	\$ 4,120.20	Oper. Dir. at 15 hrs a week Aug. 1-Nov. 15 (15 weeks)
Operating	1	1	504.60	Week	\$ 7,064.40	Lead Org. at 30 hrs/week for 14 wks
Operating	1	1	\$2,886	Month	\$14,400.00	\$18/hr. 40 hrs/week Sept. 1-Nov. 25 (12 weeks)
Operating	1	1	\$1,212	Month	\$4,240.00	\$15.14 hrs/week 20 hrs/week Sept. 1 - Nov. 25 (14 weeks)
Operating					\$6,183.10	For all staff on project
Operating			0.50 cents	mile	\$5,000.00	Estimated miles for key staff
Operating	1	1	\$2,000.00		\$2,000.00	
Operating	1	4	\$300.00	Month	\$900.00	\$400 per month (August, Sept., Oct., Nov)
Operating	3	10	\$200	Month	\$600	
Operating	1	1	\$700.00	Per Election	\$700.00	November election
Operating Total					\$ 50,724.40	

## Milwaukee Program

PROGRAM	NUMBER	TOTAL NEEDED	COST PER UNIT	UNIT	SUBTOTALS	NOTES
Milwaukee Program	1	1	\$3,900.00	Per week	\$39,000.00	\$15/hr. 20 hrs/week for 13 weeks
Milwaukee Program	1	1		Per week	\$10,800.00	\$18/hr. 40 hrs/week for 15 weeks
Milwaukee Program	1	10	\$150.00	2X Early Voting and Election	\$1,500.00	We will hold our own phone bank at the office with burner phones that will need minutes added on
Milwaukee Program	1	2	\$300.00	2X Early Voting & GOTV	\$600.00	7.5 cents per accepted call. Estimate 4000 accepted calls
Milwaukee Program	1	1	\$500.00	Election Day	\$500.00	Will get breakfast provided from local business
Milwaukee Program	1	30	\$100.00		\$3,000.00	stipend for neighborhood leaders who build teams
Milwaukee Program	1	100	\$10.00		\$1,000.00	car-passers and volunteers
Milwaukee Program Total					\$56,400.00	

## Racine Program

Racine Program	1	2	\$150.00	2X Early Voting and Election	\$300.00	Based on our work in 2012 in Racine we predict these calls will be around 3K phone numbers at 7.5 cents per accepted call
Racine Program Total					\$300.00	
Green Bay Program	1	2	\$100	2X Early Voting and Election	\$200	
Green Bay Program	1	5	\$150	2X	\$750	We will hold our own phone bank at the office with burner phones that will need minutes added on
Green Bay Program	1	2	\$3,300		\$6,600	\$15/hr. 20 hrs/week, 11 weeks
Green Bay Program Total					\$7,550	

